

Message Text

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INFO RUFHGV/USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA IMMEDIATE 3526

USDEL MBFR VIENNA IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE BELGIUM IMMEDIATE

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FROM USMISSION NATO DTD 92 MAR 1977 DTG R 021742Z MAR 77

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S E C R E T USNATO 1138

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECDEF, USCINCEUR, USNMR SHAPE, US-
LOSACLANT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, MPOL, GW

SUBJECT: NATO CONSULTATIONS: FRG VIEWS

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REF: USNATO 1111, DTG 021105Z MAR 77

SUMMARY: FRG PERMREP PAULS HAS CITED EXAMPLES OF
KEY ISSUES ON WHICH NATO CONSULTATIONS ARE REQUIRED HE SAYS, IF
THE US IS TO AVOID "IRRITATION" IN FRG, AND PRESUMABLY AMONG
OTHER ALLIES. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING CALL ON AMBASSADOR MARCH 2, FRG PERMREP PAULS REITERATED THE EMPHATIC STATEMENT HE MADE DURING PERMREP'S LUNCH, MARCH 1 (PARA 1, REFTEL) ON THE NEED FOR "TRUE CONSULTATIONS" BY THE US AT NATO PRIOR TO THE RESUMPTION OF US-USSR SALT NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER CHARACTERIZING SUCH PRIOR CONSULTATIONS AS BEING OF "ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE" TO ALLIED COHESION--AND ALSO SUGGESTING THAT CONSULTATIONS WOULD STRENGTHEN THE US HAND IN NEGOTIATIONS-- PAULS ALLUDED TO THE FACT THAT FRG LEADERS WERE "IRRITATED" BY A NUMBER OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WASHINGTON.

2. AMBASSADOR ASKED PAULS IF HE WOULD CARE TO BE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT ALLEGED IRRITATION IN BONN. PAULS REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH A MATTER OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS THE US HAS OR HAS NOT TAKEN; RATHER, IT IS THE PERCEPTION OF DECISIONS IN THE MAKING ON MATTERS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE FRG AND OTHR ALLIES, BUT WITHOUT ALLIES KNOWING WHICH DECISIONS ARE, IN FACT, BEING MADE AND UNDER WHAT RATIONALE. PAULS THEN PROCEEDED TO TICK OFF SOME PARTICULARS:

-- DOES THE US INTEND TO INCLUDE THE SS-X-20 IN SALT II?
HOW CONCERNED IS THE US THAT THIS SYSTEM COULD BE QUICKLY CONVERTED, BY THE ADDITION OF A THIRD STAGE, TO GIVE IT AN INTERCONTINENTAL CAPABILITY?

--WHAT ARE THE US INENTIONS AND RATIONALE WITH RESPECT TO LAND-BASED CRUISE MISSILS? THE FRG VIEWS THIS CATEGORY OF WEAPONS AS POTENTIALLY VERY IMPORTANT IN CENTRAL REGION DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE.

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--WHAT IS THE US VIEW OF THE INTERFACE BETWEEN SALT II AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS? THE FRG RECOGNIZES THAT THESE ARE SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS, PAULS OBSERVED, BUT ALSO VIEWS THEM AS INHERENTLY INTERRELATED.

-- DOES THE US INTEND ANY CHANGES IN THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES (TNF) BEYOND THOSE ALREADY UNDER ALLIED EXAMINATION? THE FRG, AS IS WELL KNOWN, ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE TNF LEG OF THE NATO TRAD --VIEWING IT AS PROVIDING ESSENTIAL CREDIBILITY TO THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE OTHER TWO LEGS.

3. CONTINUING IN THE SAME VEIN, BUT NOTING THAT HE WAS NOW SPEAKING PERSONALLY, PAULS OBSERVED THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW US ATTITUDE TOWARD SPEAKING ON ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR CONSULTATION ON THIS SUBJECT. HE UNDERSTANDS PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL VALUES, PAULS SAID, AND SHARES THEM. BUT AT SOME POINT THE SOVIET REACTION TO WESTERN INSISTENCE ON THE GUARANTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL

BECOME SO NEGATIVE THAT NOT ONLY THE RIGHTS IN QUESTION BUT THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF THOSE TO WHOM THEY APPLY WILL BE PLACED IN JEOPARDY. THUS, WHILE WE CONTINUE TO REGARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLE, WE SHOULD ALSO EXAMINE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE SOVIETS OF VARIOUS APPROACHES WE MIGHT TAKE TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THESE RIGHTS.

4. THE AMBASSADOR REMINED PAULS OF THE DEEP AND LONG-STANDING AMERICAN CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, PORTRAYING IT AS AN ETHICAL CONSTANT IN THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, AND OBSERVED THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING OF WASHINGTON'S APPROACH WAS THAT WE WOULD SPEAK OUT IN BEHALF OF SUCH RIGHTS-FIRMLY, BUT UNPROVOCATIVELY--WHILE NOT ALLOWING OUR STATEMENTS TO INTERFERE WITH OTHER ASPECTS OF DIPLOMACY. PAULS CONCLUDED BY OBSERVING THAT THIS IS A PRINCIPLED APPROACH. THE DIFFICULTY
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IN IT, IN HIS VIEW, IS THAT THE SOVIETS TREAT DIPLOMACY ONLY IN TERMS OF PRAGMATIC FACTS, NOT AS PART PRINCIPLE AND PART PRAGMATISM. HENCE, HE STILL BELIEVES THAT, OVERPLAYED, THIS THEME COULD PRODUCE SOVIET REACTIONS THAT WOULD THREATEN THE VERY PEOPLE IT WAS INTENDED TO HELP PROTECT. STRAUSS-HUPE UNQTE
VANCE

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